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SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

REPORT ON THE CONSULTATIONS WITH ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENTS AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS, HELD AT GENEVA, ON 30 NOVEMBER AND 1 DECEMBER 1992

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INTRODUCTION

1. In paragraph 3 of its resolution 46/79 B of 13 December 1991, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee against Apartheid, in accordance with its mandate as the focal point for the international campaign against apartheid, to continue mobilizing international action through, inter alia, liaison and consultations with Governments, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and relevant groups and individuals, in support of the political process towards the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

2. In accordance with that provision, the Special Committee included in its programme of work for 1992 the holding of consultations at Geneva on 30 November and 1 December 1992 with anti-apartheid movements and NGOs.

3. Its objectives, expressed in the agenda of the consultations, were as follows:

(a) Review of developments in South Africa since November 1991 and assessment of progress towards the establishment of a transitional government and an elected constituent assembly;

(b) Activities and plans of the Special Committee and work of the Centre against Apartheid in the light of developments in South Africa and in view of the resolutions adopted (or to be adopted) at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly;

(c) The role of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs in promoting peace and democracy in South Africa, such as:

(i) Creating conditions for free political activity, including action to end political violence;

(ii) Promoting "free and fair" elections; and

(iii) Maintaining international pressure, including sanctions;

(d) Future role of the anti-apartheid movements and NGOs, such as:

(i) Assisting in solving socio-economic problems during the transitional period and beyond;

(ii) Supporting the establishment of a culture of human rights in South Africa; and

(iii) Supporting the development of a society of tolerance.

I. AGENDA AND PROCEDURES

4. The consultations were opened on 30 November 1992 by Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid (for his statement, see annex I to the present report). Other speakers at the opening meeting were Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, Director of the Centre against Apartheid (see annex II to the present report). The opening meeting was also addressed by Mr. Gora A. Ebrahim, Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and by Mr. Aziz Pahad, member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

5. Following the opening meeting, the participants agreed, after consultations on the officials of the meeting (see annex III to the present report). Thereafter, the consultations continued in three consecutive workshops and a closing meeting.

II. PARTICIPANTS

6. The Special Committee against Apartheid was represented by its Chairman, Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari (Nigeria), Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria) and Mr. Kheireddine Ramoul (Algeria). In addition, representatives of States members of the Special Committee accredited to the United Nations Office at Geneva took part in the opening meeting.

7. Representatives of ANC and PAC, as well as two special guests from South Africa, also attended. Moreover, representatives of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs took part in the consultations. The list of participants is provided in annex V to the present report.

III. DOCUMENTATION

8. The Centre against Apartheid provided a number of documents for the consultations, primary among these were the report of the Special Committee to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session (A/47/22) and the third progress report of the Secretary-General (A/47/574) on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa. Representatives also submitted some background documents (see annex VI to the present report).

IV. SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

9. The participants reviewed recent political developments in South Africa and international response to them, as well as the role of their respective organizations, after hearing a detailed analysis of the situation inside South Africa from the leaders of the delegations of PAC and ANC respectively. The key conclusions arrived at after the exhaustive discussion focused on the role

of anti-apartheid movements, NGOs and international organizations in continuing information campaigns, promotion of a climate of free political activity, promotion of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa, support for the national liberation movements, the role of sanctions and assistance to front-line States and States members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

10. Although there were varied opinions on modalities of attaining a non-racial and democratic South Africa, the participants were unanimous in their view that the 1989 United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa remained the basis for the attainment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa. Similarly, there was consensus that the South African Government had primary responsibility to maintain law and order. The Government's failure to fulfil that statutory obligation, the participants believed, meant that it was primarily responsible for the delays in the march towards a democratic and non-racial South Africa, and more so for the political violence in that country. Some participants discussed the contention that an understanding between the leadership of ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) would bring about the end to violence. They were of the view that that violence emanated from apartheid State structures and complicity of the security agencies. References were made to the recent findings of the Goldstone Commission implicating the Military Intelligence in orchestrating political violence.

11. While discussing the modalities of bringing violence to an end, the participants welcomed and commended the deployment of United Nations and other international observers in South Africa. Most participants were, however, of the view that in spite of their positive contributions, the role of the observers was still limited. Participants thus called for the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa to be expanded and the number of observers increased in order to make them more effective.

12. The participants called upon the international community to continue exerting maximum pressure on the South African Government, through the maintenance of existing sanctions and other measures. They urged the democratic forces in South Africa to unite and, specifically, called on ANC and PAC to resume their cooperation under the auspices of the Patriotic United Front. The participants were of the view that although the international community had a role to play in South Africa, it was up to the South Africans themselves to determine what form of constitutional and other political arrangements they wanted for their country. Nevertheless, the participants rededicated themselves to the anti-apartheid campaign.

13. After exhaustively reviewing recent political developments in South Africa, the response of the international community to them, as well as the role of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs, the participants adopted by acclamation a proposal for action and a declaration (see sect. V of the present report).

V. PROPOSALS FOR ACTION AND DECLARATION

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

Information campaigns

The participants recognized that there was a continuing need to ensure that public opinion understood that apartheid was not "dead". In order to achieve this, it was agreed:

(a) To organize educational and information campaigns which, whilst acknowledging the changes which have taken place, demonstrate that South Africa is still an apartheid State, and that "grand apartheid" in the form of bantustans continues as do numerous apartheid laws;

(b) To inform the public that the most fundamental element of apartheid, the denial of political rights to the Black majority, continues and that the majority of South Africans still have no right to vote in the country of their birth;

(c) To educate public opinion as to the massive deprivation which exists in South Africa as a direct consequence of the policies of apartheid;

(d) To have concerted information campaigns to expose the true nature and sources of violence.

Promotion of a climate of free political activity

The participants recognized the threat posed to the democratic transformation of South Africa by the violence and political repression and agreed on the need to expose all such threats, to exert pressure on Governments and intergovernmental organizations to take effective action and, in particular, to campaign:

(a) For the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners;

(b) For free political activity in all bantustans, especially Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu;

(c) To expose and help put an end to the activities of the "dirty tricks" squads, mercenaries and other elements within the security forces, including the KwaZulu police, which are instigating and fomenting violence;

(d) To press for the rapid implementation of the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report of 7 August 1992 as well as the agreements reached with the regime to end the violence, including the ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and action in relation to the hostels;

(e) To ensure that the United Nations observer team and other teams from the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the Economic Community (EC) have sufficient resources, including large enough numbers, and the necessary mandate to make an effective contribution towards ending the violence; and that the Secretary-General appoints an eminent person to be in charge of the United Nations observer team;

(f) To publicize any violations of the National Peace Accord and to ensure that it is implemented in letter and spirit especially in relation to impartiality of the police and security forces;

(g) To call for an urgent meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord to look at the weaknesses of the Accord in order to take measures to strengthen it;

(h) For the complete dissolution of all covert and clandestine police and security force structures; these forces should be confined to their barracks under the supervision of the international community;

(i) For the cessation of all political trials and repeal of remaining repressive legislation;

(j) To end all restrictions on the right to demonstrate and to organize political activities.

Promotion of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa

The participants agreed upon the need for sustained campaigning to ensure a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa based on the fundamental principles set out in the United Nations Declaration, in particular one person one vote on a single common non-racial electoral roll. This must involve in particular the immediate replacement of the apartheid regime by an interim government of national unity and transitional authority to rule South Africa during the period of transition and the establishment of an elected constituent assembly to draw up and adopt a non-racial and democratic Constitution based on the fundamental principles set out in the United Nations Declaration.

It was recognized that anti-apartheid movements and NGOs should campaign:

(a) To ensure the immediate replacement of the apartheid regime with an interim government of national unity and for the rapid holding of democratic one person one vote elections for a constituent assembly which would draw up and adopt a new non-racial and democratic Constitution for South Africa;

(b) To expose the continuing existence of "grand apartheid" in the form of bantustans and to ensure their immediate re-incorporation into a united non-fragmented South Africa;

(c) To expose the fraudulent and anti-democratic constitutional proposals of the Nationalist Party and its intention to maintain a "White veto" through so-called power-sharing and what purports to be a "federal" solution;

(d) To campaign to ensure that elections for a constituent assembly are "free and fair", which will require an end to the regime's monopoly over State broadcasting, effective programmes for voters' education, and the right of all political organizations to campaign freely throughout the entire country, including bantustans and "White" farming areas, easy access for all to the polling booths, as well as the active participation of the United Nations and the international community as a whole;

(e) To campaign for an immediate commencement of voters' registration on a common voters' roll.

Support for the national liberation movements

The participants recognized that until there was a genuine transfer of power from the White minority regime to the people as a whole, it was essential that maximum support be provided by the international community to the national liberation movements and all those struggling to secure the democratic transformation of South Africa. In particular, it was agreed to campaign:

(a) To mobilize support for popular campaigns being organized to promote peace and democracy in South Africa and to prevent the apartheid regime from unilaterally restructuring the economy in order to perpetuate White privilege and Black impoverishment in a new form;

(b) To mobilize political and material support for the national liberation movements to enable the majority of South Africans to prepare for elections;

(c) To inform the public about and raise funds for the needs of returning exiles and the rehabilitation of released political prisoners, internally displaced people and support for voters' education campaign;

(d) To ensure that Member States honour their obligations under the United Nations Declaration to provide "all-round support to the opponents of apartheid", including ongoing assistance to organizations which have played and are playing a key role in the process of change in South Africa, such as the non-racial trade unions, religious organizations, human rights bodies and the democratic media;

(e) To support initiatives which are endorsed by the national liberation movements designed to prepare for a "post-apartheid" South Africa such as human resources development and other programmes seeking to overcome the consequences of apartheid, such as the provision of low-cost housing, primary health care and non-racial educational services;

(f) To publicize the violence, and to request the Special Committee to publish a special document with comprehensive factual information about the methods and techniques used by the South African regime and its various armed, covert and other units as well as other State-linked formations to destabilize and undermine the liberation movements. This document should consist primarily of a special report on the subject to be prepared by ANC and PAC respectively.

Role of sanctions

The participants recognize the major role played by sanctions in compelling the apartheid regime to accept the need for a negotiated political settlement and that sanctions have an essential role to play to ensure that there was a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. Taking into account the positions expressed by the national liberation movements and the decisions of the General Assembly it was agreed:

(a) To campaign for the maintenance of economic sanctions and boycotts in order to secure the rapid replacement of the apartheid regime by an interim government of national unity and an elected constituent assembly;

(b) To continue to press banks and other financial institutions including the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to maintain financial sanctions and to campaign to prevent any further bond issues and other bank loans, credit facilities and new capital inflows to South Africa;

(c) To campaign for the maintenance of all sanctions and other restrictions in the nuclear field, including imports of South African uranium, until a democratic government is in power in South Africa;

(d) To promote the strict implementation of the arms embargo and all associated military sanctions, including the embargo on the export and import of arms, until a democratic government is in power in South Africa;

(e) To campaign for the strict adherence to the oil embargo;

(f) To campaign to ensure that "people to people" contact with South Africa in no way results in the strengthening of apartheid institutions and to maintain effective boycott actions against organizations which continue to practise apartheid in the educational, cultural and sporting fields;

(g) To put pressure on Governments to provide adequate resources for the Centre against Apartheid and the Special Committee against Apartheid, as well as international NGOs, enabling them to continue the monitoring of all sanctions;

(h) To protest the recent violations of the arms embargo, especially the sale of Swiss Pilatus PC-7 trainers and Russian Mig-29 fighter planes to the South African Air Force;

(i) To urge the German authorities not to permit the export of MTU engines or parts for the naval vessels of the South African Navy;

(j) To request the Special Committee, as a priority, to issue a special comprehensive statement to highlight South Africa's unilateral measures to restructure the defence force and the armaments industry; the ARMSCOR campaign to export arms and related material; the need to fully investigate South Africa's nuclear and chemical weapon capability and to emphasize the need to demobilize and destroy these weapons and their production utilities under adequate and effective international supervision and control.

Front-line States and Southern African Development Coordination Conference

The participants recognized that the front-line States and the SADC continue to require all possible assistance to overcome the consequences of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilization. They welcomed in particular the initiatives of the Governments of Angola and Mozambique aimed at creating conditions of peace and reconciliation. They agreed in particular:

(a) To campaign to defend peace and democracy in Angola and to stop all South African support for UNITA (National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola) and for UNITA's international isolation until it abides by the Bicesse Peace Accords;

(b) To campaign, taking into account the agreement reached for interim arrangements between the Government of Namibia and the South African regime, for the rapid reincorporation of Walvis Bay and the off-shore islands into Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978;

(c) To ensure that Member States honour their obligations under the United Nations Declaration "to render all possible assistance to the front-line and neighbouring States to enable them to: rebuild their economies, which have been adversely affected by South African acts of aggression and destabilization".

DECLARATION

1. We, the participants in the anti-apartheid movements and non-governmental organizations' consultations organized by the Special Committee against Apartheid at Geneva on 30 November and 1 December 1992, having considered all political developments in South Africa since November 1991, among other things, and to wit, international response to them, are strongly convinced that apartheid is not yet dead.

2. We remain convinced that the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by consensus on 14 December 1989, remains the valid framework for the attainment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa and therefore urge the full

implementation of its provisions, in particular, the commitment that "we shall continue to do everything in our power to increase support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people, including maintaining international pressure against the system of apartheid until that system is ended and South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country, with justice and security for all its citizens".

3. Whilst we welcome the limited but important progress that has been made since December 1989, the political process in South Africa is now becoming protracted, negotiations have been stalled and there is an increase in political violence emanating from State structures.

4. We firmly hold the South African Government primarily responsible for the delay and for being the main obstacle towards a democratic solution and the attainment of a genuine non-racial democracy.

5. We reiterate the prevailing international consensus that:

- Political transition in South Africa must be swift;

- The quick election of a constituent assembly is imperative to a successful transition;

- The election of the constituent assembly must be followed by the immediate emplacement of a transitional administration;

- There is need to urgently address the escalating, State-sponsored violence and guarantee free political activity in order to have free and fair elections;

- The South African Government cannot be a player and a referee. To ensure free and fair elections, it is necessary to establish a transitional administration, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission.

6. We commend the Security Council's recent deployment of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa and the dispatching of Observers from the Commonwealth, EC and OAU.

7. We strongly urge that the mandate and the role of United Nations and other intergovernmental observers be expanded and their number increased, in order for them to play an active role to end violence and accelerate the democratization process.

8. We call upon the international community to exercise maximum pressure on the South African Government and to encourage all other appropriate parties in order to sustain and support the momentum of the vulnerable and critical political process still under way in South Africa.

9. We urge the Special Committee against Apartheid to continue to mobilize the international community and ensure that the objectives of the 1989 United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa are fulfilled.

10. We reaffirm that it is for all South Africans to determine what form of constitutional and other political arrangements they want for their country.

11. We remain mindful of our role to fully implement the goals and objectives we have set for ourselves in the next calendar year, taking into consideration the critical situation in South Africa, the above-stated demands, and more importantly, the need to bring about a non-racial and democratic South Africa.

12. We rededicate ourselves to the anti-apartheid campaign and remain relentless in our collective effort to eradicate apartheid from South Africa and to support the creation in its place of a united, non-racial and democratic nation.

Annex I

OPENING STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

This consultative meeting is being convened at a most opportune time as political events in South Africa continue to unfold, calling for coordinated, consistent and effective responses from the international community.

A number of events in the recent past have given the international community reason for cautious optimism, such as the signing of the National Peace Accord in September 1991, the convening of the first plenary session of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I) and the result of the all-White referendum last March. It was felt that the political process had acquired sufficient momentum to enable the parties concerned to agree on a new constitutional order and forge ahead towards a new democratic South Africa. That brief euphoria gave way to discouragement and despair after the deadlock of the second plenary session of CODESA (CODESA II) in May and the upsurge in political violence, notably the killings in Boipatong, Bisho, Folwani and other townships. Meanwhile, the South African economy has sunk into a deeper recession with continued high unemployment. The gross domestic product took a steep drop in the third quarter of 1992 which might yet reflect its deepest decline in eight years. The drought, capital flight and drop in consumer confidence were given as primary reasons for this decline.

At the General Assembly debate on South Africa two weeks ago, where about 60 Member States spoke on vital issues, the mood was resolute in continuing the application of appropriate measures to pressure the South African authorities to move forward with a negotiated settlement with democratic forces in South Africa as well as to put an end to the violence which has been seen to jeopardize any probable success of the political process. The debate also addressed the Government's undeniable responsibility to deal with the socio-economic inequalities that are deeply entrenched in South African society and the need for the international community to assist South Africans in overcoming the legacies of apartheid.

During the past difficult months, it was to the credit of the United Nations, other intergovernmental organizations and anti-apartheid organizations, such as yours, to have spared neither time nor effort to help keep the issue of apartheid on the front burner of world politics and to keep the precarious political process from being derailed.

The Security Council, which convened at the request of OAU, provided a forum for Member States as well as political organizations from inside South Africa to put forth their positions on the spiralling violence and the need to adopt urgent measures to curb it. The Council called upon all parties to cooperate in bringing the violence to a halt and to abide by the National Peace Accord.

The timely dispatch of the Secretary-General's Special Representative as well as United Nations observers has been welcomed by the international community. Their presence was viewed as a deterrent to violence and as having a stabilizing effect on the present volatile situation. Observers from the OAU, EC and the Commonwealth have since joined the United Nations to help reinforce the much-needed international presence. Some Member States, at the General Assembly debate, even called for an increase in the number of observers and the broadening of their mandate. Some specifically urged the Secretary-General to appoint an "eminent person" to deal on a full-time basis with the South African conflict as he has done with other conflicts. Such a gesture, it was felt, would go a long way towards enabling the United Nations to play an essential catalytic and mediatory role.

The release of 42 political prisoners on 15 November, following the earlier release of some 150 prisoners in late September, greatly contributes to an atmosphere of goodwill and provides a healing effect to a weary and pained country. However, reports of continued ill-treatment of remaining political prisoners, high number of deaths while in police custody and the delay of South African authorities in investigating and addressing these reports as well as the recent revelations by the Goldstone Commission of the involvement of the South African Military Intelligence in covert illegal activities aimed at destabilizing the ANC, in particular, reinforces the mistrust of the police and security forces by the majority of South Africans. It is most urgent and necessary that the police and defence forces in South Africa be reminded of their duties to protect the life, security and dignity of all South Africans. The remaining of security forces is an essential requirement for the transition to a post-apartheid South Africa.

The international community continues to support the two-pronged approach of pressure and assistance. The lifting of the oil ban or the mandatory arms embargo is still considered premature and counterproductive. The same applies to the ban on new investment, finance and trade. Assistance to disadvantaged South Africans is being given prominence on the agenda, especially in the humanitarian field and in human resource development.

The United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa continues to make inroads in the fields of education, training and human resources development in South Africa. Under the able leadership of Ambassador Huslid of Norway, the Programme is geared to open up training and education opportunities until recently not available to a majority of students, to meet current manpower needs and to assist returning exiles. The Programme is increasingly focused on training inside South Africa.

The Record of Understanding of 26 September between the South African authorities and the ANC as well as ongoing bilateral talks also with and between other parties give us renewed hope for early elections. As the historic consensus Declaration on Apartheid states, apartheid will have been eradicated only when a new, non-racial Constitution has been adopted and a new Government has been elected as a result of free and fair elections. The immediate task ahead of reaching agreement on a broad negotiating forum and on

the modalities regarding transitional arrangements are the responsibility of the political parties concerned. It is incumbent on these political parties to draw on their wisdom and foresight, to transcend their contingent differences, and to focus on a common platform and arrangements that should enable all South Africans to live side by side in peace, freedom and justice and to work together to build the bright future which should be theirs.

In underlying this responsibility they will need the continued support of the international community, of the anti-apartheid movements and the NGOs community.

Annex II

STATEMENT BY THE DIRECTOR OF THE CENTRE AGAINST APARTHEID

At the outset, allow me to express my thanks to you, members of anti-apartheid movements and NGOs, whose commitment through the years to the campaign to free South Africa from the aberration of apartheid, has helped immensely in keeping the spirit of the struggle alive when the voice of a majority of South Africans was not allowed to be heard.

The perception that apartheid is in its death throws has prompted a number of Governments to reconsider their policies on South Africa. The international isolation of South Africa has weakened considerably and gates have opened, especially in the fields of diplomacy and trade. The General Assembly, taking into consideration progress made in overcoming obstacles to negotiations, called upon the international community "to resume academic, scientific and cultural links with democratic anti-apartheid organizations in these fields; to resume sports links with unified non-racial sporting organizations of South Africa which have received endorsement by appropriate non-racial sporting organizations within South Africa and to assist disadvantaged athletes in that country". While cultural and sports contacts with South Africa have proliferated in the past year, we continue to receive reports on the continued lack of assistance to many non-White athletes in South Africa and local organizations of which they are members to develop the basic facilities and training opportunities they need to compete on equal terms.

The role that the anti-apartheid movements and NGOs around the world have played cannot be overemphasized. The majority of South Africans, so long deprived of a voice, now speak loud and clear, and they are heard both inside South Africa and outside. But they still do not have a vote - that is, and remains, the bottom line. The support of the NGOs community is therefore still important. They continue to inform, motivate and organize at the grass-roots level in many countries. Anti-apartheid movements continue to call for the application of pressure on South Africa while pursuing their efforts to provide support for the anti-apartheid opposition and monitor the political situation in the country. The energy they have generated as well as their accomplishments have had a tremendous impact on the conscience of freedom-loving men and women and have had a decisive influence in policies of cities and governments. Their support remains vital also at this time, as the South African Government and the leaders of the democratic forces negotiate for a multiracial transitional Government and democratic elections and in the transition period ahead when their energy and commitment will be needed in the reconstruction of South Africa, changing from a reactive engagement to a pro-active involvement in the on-the-ground development of a new South Africa.

The Special Committee continues to enjoy strong cooperation with NGOs and the success of endeavours such as this and many others in the years of the campaign against apartheid, has depended on the collaboration with NGOs and anti-apartheid movements.

The international community will continue to depend on and be grateful for their valuable contribution in pursuing the aspirations of the majority of South Africans for a new, united, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

Annex III

LIST OF MODERATORS AND PANELISTS

OPENING SESSION AND

WORKSHOP 1 - Item 1

Moderator: Mr. Ibrahim A. Gambari, Chairman, Special Committee against Apartheid

Panelists: Mr. Aziz Pahad (ANC)

Mr. Gora Ebrahim (PAC)

WORKSHOP 2 - Items 2 and 3

Moderator: Ms. Paulette Pierson-Mathy, Comité contre le colonialisme et l'apartheid, Belgium

Panelists: Mr. Mike Terry, British Anti-Apartheid Movement, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, Director, Centre against Apartheid

Mr. L. G. Kilgallen, Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, Ireland

Mr. Vyatcheslav N. Tetekin, Movement for Cooperation and Solidarity with Peoples of Asia and Africa

Ms. Pelle Knutsson, Isolate South Africa Committee (ISAK), Sweden

Mr. Fons Geerlings, Anti-Apartheid Beweging Nederland, Netherlands

WORKSHOP 3 - Item 4

Moderator: Mr. Abdul Minty, World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa

Panelists: Mr. Andre Schott, City of London Anti-Apartheid Group, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Ms. Manuela Cunha, Movimento Portugues contra o Apartheid, Portugal

Mr. David Craine, End Loans to South Africa, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Ms. Eva Militz, Anti-Apartheid Bewegung, Germany

Annex IV

CONCLUDING REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

We have in the last 48 hours availed ourselves of the opportunity to brainstorm and exchange ideas on our respective and collective contributions towards international efforts to end apartheid.

Beyond the opportunity to once again evaluate the activities of the anti-apartheid movement and other NGOs in the last year and define appropriate modalities for your work in the coming months, the consultations also analysed and discussed some emerging policies and trends that are discernable within the international community. We also examined the notion in some quarters that apartheid is dead.

Certainly, apartheid is not dead, and if anyone ought to know, it is those here who come from South Africa. But it is also quite clear to others who follow the issue closely and on a daily basis. It is gratifying that we had with us during these consultations, senior representatives of the ANC and PAC from inside the country. Their first-hand account of the state of political play in their country has more than convinced us that we are on the right track and must remain resolute in our efforts.

While it is true that there have been some remarkable changes in South Africa since December 1989 when the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid was adopted, we cannot overlook certain realities. It is equally true that from February 1990, the De Klerk administration showed some signs of seriously wanting to end apartheid. The initial impetus of the political developments from those days seem to have run out of steam. The provisions of the United Nations Declaration are yet to be fully implemented, not least the aspect that calls for free political activities in an atmosphere free of violence.

Indeed, the South African military authorities have been shown by the Goldstone Commission to continue to employ various forms of political dirty tricks to undermine major political forces and to fan political violence to ensure that the political negotiations do not proceed smoothly and swiftly.

Unfortunately, several countries have allowed themselves to be lulled into the false belief that the De Klerk regime is unambiguously committed to the unconditional transfer of power to the people of South Africa through a constitutional process based on universal adult suffrage.

We note efforts by some to end sanctions and measures against South Africa rather prematurely. They have been hesitant to do so sooner, because they are haunted by the prospects of the challenges by anti-apartheid movements and NGOs in their countries. You must therefore keep faith, that even in these times of rapid changes, in a time when it has become fashionable to do business with South Africa, you still have a redeeming role to play.

It perhaps needs to be recalled, that the Security Council last considered the question of South Africa in 1988, before its recent consideration of the question of violence in that country just a few months back. It was not that the Council was oblivious to the political crisis in South Africa, but at that time some of its permanent members elected to see things very differently from us. And others allowed their financial benefit from apartheid policies to blind them to reality. But we did keep the issues alive. And we must resolve to continue to do so until apartheid is eradicated and there is a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

In this very respect, we must remain vigilant. Beside the proposal for action that has been mapped out here and the declaration adopted at this meeting, we must monitor closely any moves to readmit South Africa prematurely into key international bodies. We are witnesses to their professed show of good faith in the sports field. True, South Africa has rejoined the Olympic family, but are all sports in South Africa opened to those once barred from them? The answer is no.

During the just concluded debate on apartheid by the General Assembly, a lone voice rose to espouse the view that it is time to allow South Africa to rejoin the General Assembly. It will not be long before this view, expressed by one insensitive delegation, may become a refrain in the General Assembly. We have an obligation to remind them that we are not opposed to South Africa's readmission, but that to earn its rightful place in the United Nations, South Africa must comply with the provisions of the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and other accepted international norms on human rights and democracy.

I do not need to emphasize the necessity for your organizations to remain attuned to their traditional areas of focus; loans boycott, arms embargo, oil embargo and other boycotts that have compelled South Africa to make some changes in its policies. But, along with those concerns, we must of necessity pay closer attention to the very issues that formed the basis of our discussion during these consultations, issues such as creating conditions for free political activity and actions to end violence and addressing the socio-economic problems that presently bedevil South Africa's economy and consequently, the majority of its population.

Finally, we know that apartheid is a belief system of intolerance, just like political violence is an attribute of intolerance. We must continue therefore to strive in all ways possible to assist South Africans to create a culture of human rights and support their efforts to develop a society of tolerance.

No time in the struggle against apartheid is perhaps more critical for South Africans than now. Let us therefore return to our respective bases, more resolved and more committed than ever before to continue our campaign against apartheid.

I have taken due note of your call on the Special Committee to be pro-active in mobilizing the international community to ensure that the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid is fully implemented. I wish to assure you that we in the Special Committee will continue to do our utmost, and will continue to count on your unwavering support for our work.

Annex V

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Special Committee against Apartheid

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Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria)

Mr. Kheireddine Ramoul (Algeria)

States members of the Special Committee against Apartheid

Mr. Sid Ali Branci (Algeria)

Mr. Fernando Quiros Campos (Peru)

Mr. A. Garcia Revilla (Peru)

Ms. Delia Menez Rosal (Philippines)

Mr. Sergui V. Reva (Ukraine)

National liberation movements

Mr. Aziz Pahad (ANC)

Mr. Tebogo Mafole (ANC)

Mr. Popo Molefe (ANC)

Mr. M. Msimang (ANC)

Mr. Sisa Ngombane (ANC)

Mr. Gora Ebrahim (PAC)

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Ms. Nelly Brandl, Anti-Apartheid Bewegung, Switzerland

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Ms. Manuela Cunha, Movimento Portugues contra o Apartheid, Portugal

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Mr. Oystein Gudim, Norwegian Council for Southern Africa, Norway

Sr. Claire-Marie Jeannota, Mouvement anti-apartheid suisse, Switzerland

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Mr. Dag Olausson, ISAK, Sweden

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Mr. Gert Poder, Sydafrika Kontart (South Africa Contact Denmark), Denmark

Ms. Martha Powers, The International Reports: Early Warning, United States of America

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Mr. Carl Olof Selenius, Africa Groups of Sweden, Sweden

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Mr. Vyatcheslav N. Tetekin, Movement for Cooperation and Solidarity with Peoples of Asia and Africa, Russia

Mr. Mike Terry, Anti-Apartheid Movement, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Mr. Pablo Vaals, Movimiento Anti-Apartheid Español, Spain

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United Nations

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Mr. B. Dia

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Mr. Johan Nordenfelt, Director

Mr. Oseloka Obaze, Political Affairs Officer

Ms. Clotilde Theus, Secretary

Ms. Beverly Jones, Secretary

Centre for Human Rights

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Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Mr. S. Awuye

International Labour Organisation

Mr. A. Van Heerden

Dr. James Mutambirwa

Annex VI

LIST OF DOCUMENTS AND BACKGROUND MATERIALS

United Nations documents

A/47/22	Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid
A/47/45	Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports
A/47/513	United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa: Report of the Secretary-General
A/47/525	United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa: Report of the Secretary-General
A/47/559	Coordinated Approach by the United Nations System on Questions Relating to South Africa: Report of the Secretary-General
A/47/574	Third Progress Report on the Implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa: Report of the Secretary-General
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